THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN APOSTOLATE

AND

THE SOCIETY OF THE DIVINE WORD

(talk given by Father Joseph Simon, SVD, Ph.D. at 1995 Xavier Symposium)

At the turn of the century an atmosphere of prejudice, racism, and second-classness had prevented the successful establishment of an African-American priesthood in the United States. While the pursuit of a "native clergy" had progresses in what was considered "Third World Countries," priesthood for the African-American was not in the cards. Rev. Lawrence Lucas in his book <u>Black Priest/White Church</u>, writes,

To say the American bishops are responsible for the racist church in America, and that all that must be done is to throw out or change the bishops would be simplistic and naive . . . As a group, they reflect the overall membership of the Roman Catholic Church.¹

While Father Lucas was writing from his frustrations in the 1970s, his words are perhaps more to the point at the beginning of this century. The attitude toward the African-American Catholic and potential Catholics was characterized by less than benign neglect. In 1910, while there were ten million African-Americans in the United States, only 150,000 of them were Catholic. At the service of their spiritual needs were only about thirty priests.²

Perhaps this was a predicament that Americans, mired in the American tradition of segregation and prejudice could not solve. Outsiders were needed. Outsiders who viewed the Church and its mission from a "catholic" position.

Father Fritz Bornemann's assertion that "No one called us to the United States" might be less than accurate if one believes in the power and influence of the Holy Spirit. It is in that context that one must view the success of St. Augustine's Seminary when the valiant and at times heroic efforts of others had failed.

The Society of the Divine Word came to North America primarily to seek subscribers to for

the *Das Americkanische Familienblatt*. Its first operation was running an orphanage before it turned to an Apostolate that was sadly neglected: Spiritual care of African-Americans.

In was the desire to do "missionary work" rather than staff an orphanage that prompted the Society to accept and offer to go to Mississippi and undertake the spiritual and educational development of African-Americans. Though contacts in the Chicago area, the Society was approached by D. F. Bremmer. A staunch Catholic, Bremmer had property in, Mississippi where he employed many African-Americans. He wanted to offer them spiritual guidance and also education. Therefore, he made the Society a generous offer: 320 acres of his property in Merigold, MS. He would build a rectory, a chapel and an industrial school.³

The Society readily accepted, not only because of the opportunity to serve the needs of Catholics, but because the erection of a school had proven a successful tool in evangelization in many countries and hopefully would prove so again in Mississippi. It was not to be, as opposition to the education of African-Americans rose with a vehemence, embarrassing Bishop Heslin of Natchez⁴ and effectively ending the project. Eventually, Father Heick had to make a stealthy exit from Merigold. How stealthy is somewhat clouded in legend.

Even before coming to Merigold the possibility of a "mission station" in Mississippi had been discussed with the Bishop Heslin. By the time of the opening at Merigold a contract with the bishop was being formulated. The site agreed upon was Vicksburg. There were more African-American Catholics and a better chance for success because of mistakes made and the lessons learned at Merigold.⁵ January 6, 1906, St. Mary's at Vicksburg was started.

We garner some picture of the difficulties faced by those who worked among African-Americans when we view the negotiations of a contract between the Society and the bishop regarding our entrance into this apostolate. Various provisions were accepted rather reluctantly. However,

All this might have been acceptable. The objections arose from the last sentence of the article (i.e., Point V of the contract): "In their ministrations and social intercourse they shall confine themselves strictly to the Negroes."⁶

In effect, those white priests, together with white religious Brothers and Sisters, were to be social outcasts from their own race. As we shall see later, with even more restrictions, such social intercourse was forbidden to the first four African-Americans when they began their work in Lafayette.

While support was nil and/or lackluster from most quarters, moral and financial support was not lacking from Mother Katherine Drexel. Beginning at Vicksburg, many of our missions, including the seminary at Bay St. Louis, received generous donations and encouragement from her. Her strict accountability demanded but one thing of the Society: all of the funds would be used as designated. Without her, much of what the Society undertook would have been doomed to failure.

Of historical interest is the fact that at the time Vicksburg was chosen as the first parish the Society accepted, another place was being considered and, indeed, was preferred by the Society. The place was Memphis, TN. However, the Josephites, to whom the parish was first offered, arrived to take over.⁷

Within ten years after Vicksburg, the Society had established or taken control of four more African-American parishes. These were: 1) Jackson in 1908; 2) Meridian in 1910; 3) Little Rock also in 1910; and 4) Greenville in 1913. With the founding of Greenville, the Society of the Divine Word had begun to write itself in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

The circuitous and at times painful establishment of an African-American priesthood in the

United States is well and scholarly documented in Stephen J. Ochs' monumental work, *Desegregating the Altar.*⁸

In that work I note with interest the statement that

Some American clergy argued that the pope had not intended his encyclical (i.e., Maximum Illud) to apply to the United States, with its "unique race conditions."⁹

We are reminded that when Pope Gregory XVI, issued his encyclical *In Supremo Apostolatus* in 1838 condemning slavery, some American clergy argued that the pope had not intended it to apply to the United States where the slavery was of the "domestic type" and quite different from what the pope was condemning!

The idea of an African-American priesthood as far as most of the Divine Word Missionaries was concerned was a given. An indigenous clergy is endemic to the work of a missionary throughout the history of the Church.¹⁰ The general opposition of the American hierarchy and clergy, together with the seemingly aban donment by the Josephites, The decision of the Josephites and the seemingly strong opposition within the American Catholic Church

(U)pset Father (James) Wendel so much that he founded a small magazine (*Colored Messenger*) in which he espoused the cause of the black mission and of black priests.¹¹

Greenville gave the SVDs a place to start their seminary. The process and progress were slow. The magazine of Fr. Wendel and the enthusiasm of those SVDs assigned to work in the South kept the idea alive. In 1919 the new Provincial, Fr. Peter Janser, visited the southern missions and quickly associated himself with the desire to establish a seminary for African-Americans. There were important people who had to be convinced and whose support had to be won. There was the Bishop of Natchez and the Society's leadership in Rome.

The first answer of Bishop Gunn was he did not want any African-American priests. That was not too surprising since a similar feeling had been expressed by James Cardinal

Gibbons of Baltimore and Archbishop Mundelein of Chicago as well as other bishops and archbishops throughout the country.¹² In each in stance, there was exhibited a doubt on whether the character, moral and mental, of the African-American were suitable for the Roman Catholic priesthood.

The determination of the Holy See that this was a work the must be done would in the end be the determining factor. And one other factor was important to the American hierarchy: the fact that any African-American priests trained would be members of a religious order and not diocesan. Father Janser, the Provincial, found that, when he approached Bishop Gunn of Natchez about founding a seminary, the bishop stated emphatically he did not want any African-American priests. When, however, Fr. Janser asked

How would it be if these black priests did not join the diocesan clergy; but became members of our Society or of another Society specially founded for them? The bishops difficulties suddenly disap peared.¹³ (Emphasis added)

On February 14, 1920, the Society gave its permission to open a seminary for African-Americans at Greenville.¹⁴ The logical man for the job was Father James Wendel. However, he died February 24, 1920. The one chosen for this mission was Father Matthew Christmann. Before setting out southward Christmann and the Provincial Janser discussed at length the undertaking.

Father Christmann would be joined by Jacobs. They were the seminary's staff as well as the staff of St. Mary's parish. By the end of the first year there were fourteen students, ranging in age as well as educational background. They took what subjects they could in the parochial school. The other subjects were taught by the two priests. They were housed in the attic of the school. Video and audio interviews paint an interesting picture of those first years.¹⁵

The seminary would have two stormy and trying years at Greenville. I have always wondered "Why Greenville?" The Catholic population, Caucasian and African-American were not and still are not large. The "Bible Belt" influence, often anti-Catholic was strong. And, certainly, the area could definitely be classified as "unreconstructed."

And while the Ku Klux Klan was not welcomed by the citizens of Greenville, its activities in surrounding area as well as its various methods of intimidation against Catholics, Jews and African-Americans definitely made the situation of the seminary in Greenville hazardous.¹⁶ Members of the first classes at Sacred Heart College, as the seminary at Greenville was called, noted another source of harass ment and opposition. That came from the local African-American Protestant ministers, who viewed a highly educated and trained African-American Catholic clergy as a threat.¹⁷

In 1922 the decision was made to move the seminary to a more Catholic environment and a more "reconstructed" area of the Mississippi. Bay St. Louis became the new site of the seminary which was renamed St. Augustine's Seminary, after the African Doctor of the Church. At that point a number of important things were settled. One was whether or not the African-American candidates would become members of the Society of the Divine Word. Pope Pius XI settled that question in his letter of congratulations and support on the occasion of the dedication of the new seminary. He wrote to Wilhelm Gier, then Superior General

You, beloved son, regard it as a very practical step to admit to the Society of the Divine Word Negroes who have given evidence of a vocation for the regular life. These candidates are later to be admitted to the priesthood, and eventually work as apostles among the members of their race.¹⁸

Time and again objections arose and there was the repeated proposal that the African-Americans, if and when they were ordained, should be formed into a segregated Province to facilitate their separation from the Society should that become wise or necessary.¹⁹

The split would remain for years. At the beginning of the 1930s, Father Wilhelm Gier, Superior General would request the opinions of SVDs in the United States on the question of full membership in the Society for African-Americans. He got a split decision. Strangely enough, the faculty of St. Augustine's was against full membership, while other influential SVDs, including the Provincial Council were in favor. Less than a year before their ordination, the final word came from the SVD Generalate in Rome: African-Americans would be received into full membership.²⁰

The Society, however, was not immune to some prevailing opinions of the character and abilities of the African-American young men. This is evident in the proposal that African-Americans have stricter admission requirements and a longer period of formation and interval in temporary vows.²¹ To what extent this idea was implemented is somewhat unclear.

Nor were the Society's leaders in Rome completely oblivious of potential racial frictions. Partly in response to fears of racial tension and partly to avoid having the African-American candidates take all of their training and preparations at St. Augustine's, thus limiting their world and missionary view, the Superior General, Wilhelm Gier, suggested that their philosophy and theology be taken in Europe. In the minds of Provincial Hagspiel and Bishop Gerow, as Ochs, points out,²² this might create more problems than it solved. It seems that while there was an almost universal support for an African-American clergy among the Divine Word Missionaries in the United States, the real stickler was their membership in the Society of the Divine Word.

The only conclusion one can draw from the opposition is the influence of racism and segregation. There is some indication of this in a *Provincial Protocol*, referring to a "difficulty" concerning "racial character" expressed by the Rector of St. Augustine's, Father Heffels, regarding full admission of African-Americans into the Society.²³ It is evident Father Heffels' "difficulty" was not new and he seems to have not wanted to be Rector or have another three-year term.²⁴ Michael Meier gives extensive coverage to the "difficulties" of Father Heffels, the Rector of St. Augustine's.²⁵ It is quite evident from the coverage that these difficulties were his belief that the character of the African-American in general left a great deal to be desired. Among other things that worked against them was the "lack of honesty and seriousness in blacks."²⁶ We can well imagine the perplexity that must have weighed on the Society's leaders. Was Father Heffels speaking only for himself, or for the faculty of St. Augustine's whose majority were against admission of African-Americans into the Society?

It would be a serious mistake to assume that those who fervently supported the idea of an African-American priesthood believed in the equality of the African-America with themselves. They were very much paternalistic in the old missionary style. That is quite evident from most of the correspondence and reports of this period, and beyond, and one does not have to read between the lines. However, to their eternal tribute, they gave their best to their students, determined to produce the best African-American priests and religious that could be trained.

An indigenous clergy is the hope and objective of every missionary undertaking. In other countries where the Society was working this principle was fostered. "After less than twenty years, we had already ordained seven Chinese priests in South Shantung."²⁷ And the Generalate was not backing down in its support of St. Augustine's. To them "A priest is a priest." Different races working together had created no difficulty in or China and there should be no difficulty in the United States.²⁸ Father Charles Malin, SVD, deals with the refusal of the Span iards and Portuguese to train a native clergy in their colonies and the dire consequences that ensured.²⁹

Continue support came from the Society's Generalate, which was partially influenced by the promise made to the Pope. There is no doubt that the support and influence of the Holy See played an important part in breaking down or at least tempering opposition on the part of a number of influential and reluctant bishops. One battle was yet to come when the first four were ordained and a choice had to be made regarding their first assignment.

In 1926 the first three alumni from Bay St. Louis entered the novitiate at East Troy (WI). Each year after that there were two, three or four blacks among the 10 to 20 novices . . . Most of the novices were from the north where there wasn't so much tension between the races. If anyone could overcome such tensions, then it certainly would be novices in a mission sending society.³⁰

After novitiate, they returned to St. Augustine's to continue their studies in Philosophy and Theology. By 1930 there were six African-Americans in the Major Seminary at St. Augustine's. In 1933, for the first time, the Society of the Divine Word had African-Americans among their perpetually professed. The next year, April xx, 1934, the first alumni of St. Augustine's were ordained priests.³¹

Before the ordination, serious planning had been done to choose the right place for first assignment. The participants in the discussion were not only members of the Society and local bishops, but such other influential ecclesiastics as Cardinal Mundelin, Archbishop Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate, Bishops Gerow, Jeanmard and Desmond, together with the American Board of Catholic Missions.³² It was during a discussion with Provincial Hagspiel, Bishop Gerow made suggestions that would have placed four of the then six seminarians in educational roles. That option was not appealing to the Society's leaders.³³

The first diocese that was considered for placement of the four who were ordained was Alexandria, LA. Bishop Daniel F. Desmond was diligent in his efforts to find and prepared a suitable place. In the Province Archives there is a photocopy of a short newspaper insert. Unfortunately, the item is undated and the newspaper from which it came unnamed. By his position in the Archives one can surmise that it came from the *Catholic Herald*, the paper of the Diocese of Alexandria and printed around January 5, 1934. The short blurb states

A bundle of copies of this issue of the CATHOLIC HERALD was sent to all Pastors of the Diocese, for free distribution at all Masses Sunday, on account of the important matter in this issue.

BY ORDER OF HIS EXCELLENCY³⁴

One can only conjecture that the edition of the *Catholic Herald* which referred to was published between December 1933 and January 5, 1934. In one clipping from that paper, again unfortunately undated, under the heading 'THESE LET TERS ARE SELF-EXPLANATO-RY," three letters are given in full.³⁵ The first is from Archbishop Amoleto Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate, to Father Bruno Hagspiel, Provincial of the Divine Word Missionaries. The second, from Father Hagspiel to Bishop Desmond. The third letter is to Father Hagspiel from Bishop Desmond.

These three letters were published in the *Catholic Herald* probably before the end of 1933. In the first, the Apostolic Delegate informs the Provincial that at the meeting of the American bishops it had been decided that the first assignment of the to-be-ordained African-Americans would be in the Diocese of Alexandria. The letter of Father Hagspiel informs Bishop Desmond of the receipt of the letter from the Apostolic Delegate. It also informs the bishop that the Provincial Council would be meeting to confirm the assignment and asking the bishop for "all desirable particulars regarding the placing of these three men." Father Hagspiel adds

I trust that you will have sufficient work for all three of them, and I wonder what kind of provisions you will be able to make for the white priest of our Society, who is supposed to be Superior of the Colored Brethren, unless Father Herman Patzelt, the Superior of our Southern Missions, in Lafayette, La., could act as much [sic] provided that the distance would not be too great.³⁶

Bishop Desmond's letter in this issue of the paper, describes the preparations that the bishop was making. He named several sites that he wished to place under the care of the new priests. The places were Mansura, Bunkie and Evergreen, about twelve miles from Bunkie. These three are in Avoyelles Parish. The reason given by the bishop for the choice was the French influence that had produced many African-American Catholics.

The other possible reference for the blurb mentioned above about "free issues for distribu-

tion at every Mass" could be the issue around January 5, 1934. It contains a letter from the bishop "TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE DIOCESE." The bishop opens with a note that the day, January 5, 1934, is the first anniversary as bishop. He then goes on to announce the coming of the African-American priests. He first speaks the French tradition ("the eldest daughter of the Church") that "kept Southern Louisiana strongly Catholic." He then states he was asked "if there was a locality in the Diocese of Alexandria where all these French traditions were still alive. (He) said the entire Avoyelles Parish is French to the core." He then declares that Mansura would be the sire for the young African-Americans to begin their priestly ministry. He adds

The non-catholic groups have had a colored clergy and our colored Catholics were crying for a colored priesthood. and the Holy Father has given them his assent. May God help them. Let us pray hard that these boys who have been tested may be equal to the task. Woe be to me on judgment day if I stand between the Holy Father and his work.³⁷

The hopes of the good bishop were not to be realized. First came a response from Father Patzelt stating there was no qualified white SVD (i.e., experienced enough or who spoke French) who could be placed over the newly ordained.³⁸ Then there was a minor uprising, from whites and blacks, at the sites where the young priests were supposed to be assigned. The Superior General, Father Grendel, expressed misgivings about assigning the young priests in the Diocese of Alexandria and preferred Bay St. Louis.³⁹

Father Patzelt had made a visit to Mansura and found out from the local pastor that despite the plea of Bishop Desmond there would be trouble if the young priests came to the city. The trouble would come from whites and African-Americans and the white Catholic had sent a petition to the bishops asking him not to send the Negro priests.⁴⁰

The attitude of at least some of the African Americans against the coming of priests of their own race was confirmed by a letter sent to Father Hagspiel by a Mr. Lawrence M. Coco, "the political boss of of Avoyelles parish,"⁴¹ who was a prominent Catholic in Mansura. He writes in part that

All of the colored people I have talked to doubt seriously that a colored Priest cold exercise any authority at all over them. This due to two facts: first, they have always been ministered to by white priests; second, the Negroes in this community are very submissive to whites but do not submit to the authority of one of their own color.⁴²

He goes on to explain that most of the African-Americans there are tenant farmers and could not support a priests and a school. Furthermore, people there are "rather prejudice and have never accepted Negroes on an equal social standing which of course might be more or less expected as to Priests. It was his belief that bringing Negro priests to Mansura would degrade the Catholic religion in that city due to the fact that many objected to the idea of colored priests as well as those who would never accept colored priests as priests.⁴³

By then the decision against Avoyelles Parish had already been made by the Society, though Bishop Desmond was slow in finding out about it. We find the bishop trying to save the situation even after the letter of Mr. Coco. He had made accommodations for the white superior to live in the parish in Marksville.⁴⁴ He had even approached the Provincial of the Holy Ghost Fathers, Father C. J. Plunkett, asking whether the Spiritans would be willing to give up their parish in Marksville so that the soon to be ordained SVDs could take over that parish.⁴⁵ From a letter of Bishop Desmond, dated February 24, 1934 and correspondence from Fathers Hagspiel and Patzelt it seems that the Spiritans were willing to turn over Marksville to the SVD.⁴⁶

But negotiations were already under way between Father Patzelt and Bishop Jeanmard of Lafayette. Bishop Jeanmard informed Father Patzelt that "he can offer something better than Alexandria."⁴⁷ Under consideration were two places, St. Martinville and Lafayette. The most appealing to Father Patzelt was Holy Rosary parish in Lafayette, near Holy Rosary Institute where Father Patzelt was the director. The bishop offered to build a parish house and a school "for boys only" and he, Bishop Jeanmard, would approach the Apostolic Delegate about the change in plans.⁴⁸ As late as March 5, 1934, Bishop Desmond still believed that the four priests would come to his diocese.⁴⁹ There is considerable correspon dence after this date suggesting a compromise, which would send two of the priests to Marksville in the Alexandria Diocese and the other two to Lafayette. Simultaneously this evidence points to the fact that as long as possible Bishop Desmond should be kept in the dark about possibilities in Lafayette.⁵⁰

In spite of this compromise being bantered about, the stronger feeling was that the four should remain together. This feeling was given greater importance when the Apostolic Delegate expressed it as well.

I am strongly of the opinion (he writes) that these four Colored priests should not be separated, but should live together in community life, following the customary spiritual exercises, under the care and direction of a prudent white priest of the Society. To separate them, and to assign them immediately would, I believe, be a mistake.⁵¹

By June 21, Bishop Desmond had been advised of the "compromise" and he was "foregoing the privilege of this compromise" as not being in the best interest of his diocese.⁵² The only question in Lafayette was whether the diocese was prepared to take all four of the young priests. It was with great relief that Father Hagspiel received a telegram from Father Patzelt

JUST RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF SATURDAY WIRED YOU ALREADY THIS MORNING THAT WE HAVE WORK FOR ALL FOUR PRIESTS EVERYTHING OKAY = PATZELT.⁵³

And so it was settled. All four of the newly ordained Divine Word Missionaries, Fathers Anthony Bourges, Maurice Rousseve, Vincent Smith and Francis Wade, were assigned to the newly founded Immacualate Heart of Mary Parish in Lafayette, LA. The four were Assistant or Associate Pastors. As fitting for any newly ordained priest, they were placed under the guidance of an older priest. The pastor of Immaculate Heart of Mary was Father Herman Patzelt, S.V.D., the Director of Holy Rosary Institute a couple of blocks away.

It would be a mistake to believe that ordination to the priesthood solved all problems regarding the acceptance of an African-American clergy. One of the reasons for placing the

four young priests together was to make it possible for them to form a community. Among the clergy of the area, they were the only community they had. The actual pastor, Father Patzelt, seldom if ever entered the rectory of Immaculate Heart of Mary. The priests recount how he would pick up the mail each day, drive to the rectory, hunk the car horn and wait for one of themm to come out and get their mail.⁵⁴ They were told as well that, although they would receive the invitations for ceremonies and gatherings at the cathedral and other churchs, it was understood they would not attend. And should one of them encounter a white priest on the streets, he should become the "Invisible Man" and not extend a greeting or, worse yet, attempt to shake hands This went on for quite some time until Father Bourges decided he was going to accept an invitation to a certain ceremony at the cathedral and was welcomed Bishop Jeanmard. His SVD superiors, however, were not that happy..⁵⁵

END NOTES

¹Lawrence Lucas, <u>Black Priest/White Church</u> (New York, 1970)

²Fritz Bornemann, SVD, <u>A History of The Divine Word Missionaries</u> (Essi-Gi-Esse, Roma, 1981)

³John Peil to Arnold Janssen, December 4, 1094, SVD Archives, Bay St. Louis, MS (ABSL)

⁴Heslin to Peil, October 17, 1905, (ABSL)

⁵Michael Meier, <u>Divine Word Missionaries' Black Apostolate in Southern USA</u>, Doctoral Thesis, Gregorian University 1961, pg. 36

⁶Meier, *pg. 40*

⁷Meier, pg. 37

⁸Stephen J. Ochs, <u>Desegregating the Altar</u>, LSU Press, 1990

⁹Ochs, pg. 248

¹⁰Leonard J. Olivier, "The Origin and Development of Saint Augustine's Semi nary,"

Unpublished Master's Thesis, Catholic University, 1916, pgs. 6-16

¹¹Bornemann, pg. 211

¹²Olivier, pg 22 ff.; Bornemann, pg. 210-211; Ochs, pg. 246-270 passim

¹³Bornemann, pg. 211

¹⁴Bodems to Wendel, February 14, 1920 (ABSL)

¹⁵Media Production, Inc.(MPI), Video/Audio Library, St. Augustine's Seminary

¹⁶Mary E. Best, <u>Seventy Septembers</u>, 1988; also cf. Ochs, pg. 266; MPI

¹⁷MPI; Maurice Rousseve, "No Blacks Need Apply" <u>SVD Word In The World 1994- 1995</u>, pgs. 35-38, (Steyl, Hollland, 1994)

¹⁸Pius XI to Wilhelm Gier, April 5, 1923 (ABSL)

¹⁹Matthew Christmann to Alois Heick, June 13, 1921, (ABSL)

²⁰Charles Malin, "Integration of Catholic Clergy in the United States" (M.A. thesis, Marquette University, 1964), 59-69

²¹Bornemann, op. cit. pg. 213

²²Ochs, pp. 326-327

²³Bruno Hagspiel, April 5, 1932 (ABSL)

²⁴Wilhelm Gier to Bruno Hagspiel, June 13, 1931 (ABSL) "Priester ist Priester, ob weiß oder schwarz oder gelb, das macht wenig Unterschied, in Afrika arbeiten die Weißen Väter mit ihren schwarzen Priestern zuzammen, in China unsere Patres mit gelben Mitbrüdern, warum sollte es in U. St. nicht ebenso gehen?"

²⁵Meier, pp. 102-108

²⁶Ibid "There are difficulties and prerequisites on the side of Blacks which would make community life impossible.

1 The universally great difference of both races. "The basic warp (sic) is a physical reaction of aversion to the Negro and is found upon a trait which has its root deep in the nature of man... The Negroes differed diametrically in colors, facial features, in body odor, in language and culture."

2 The lack of a sense of cleanliness, odor and tact.

3. Blacks' inferior intellectual endowment and their inferior volitional energy. He quotes Mother Roach of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart Congregation who says: 'To the thorough German mind the Southern Negro must be a trial as well as a problem. Their apparent lack of both moral and physical energy as well as their slow intelligence must permit a real difficulty in training them for the priesthood.'

4. A lack of honesty and seriousness in Blacks....

8. Their morality; the West African Black, from which the American Black is a descendent, has a greater sensuality."

²⁷Bornemann, pg. 210

²⁸Ibid

²⁹Malin, pp. 3-4

³⁰Bornemann, pg. 212

³¹Ibid

³²Ochs, pp. 329-340

³³Ibid

34ABSL

35ABSL

³⁶Ibid

37ABSL

³⁸Patzelt to Hagspiel, December 14, 1933; January 7, 1934 (ABSL)

³⁹Joseph Grendel to Bruno Hagspiel, January 5, 1934; Herman Patzelt to Bruno Hagspiel, January 24, 1934 (ABSL)

⁴⁰Malin, pg. 79; Patzelt to Hagspiel, January 21, 1934 (ABSL)

⁴¹Herman Patzelt to Bruno Hagspiel, February 19, 1934 (ABSL)

⁴²Lawrence M. Coco to Bruno Hagspiel, January 27, 1934 (ABSL)

4343Ibid

⁴⁴Bishop Desmond to Bruno Hagspiel, February 10, 1934 (ABSL)

⁴⁵Bishop Desmond to C.J. Plunkett, February 2, 1934 (copy in ABSL)

⁴⁶Bishop Desmond to Bruno Hagspiel, February 24, 1934; Bruno Hagspiel to Bishop Desmond, March 1, 1934; Herman Patzelt to Bruno Hagspiel, March 26, 1934; Bruno Hagspiel to Bishop Desmond, March 1, 1934 (ABSL)

⁴⁷Herman Patzelt to Bruno Hagspiel, February 19, 1934 (ABSL)

⁴⁸Ibid

⁴⁹Bishop Desmond to Bruno Hagspiel, March 5, 1934 (ABSL)

⁵⁰Bruno Hagspiel to Bishop Desmond, March 27, 1934; Herman Patzelt to Bruno Hagspiel, March 26, 1934, March 30, 1934 April 1, 1934, April 20, 1934, April 26, 1934; Bruno Hagspiel to Joseph Grendel, April 1, 1934; Bishop Desmond to Bruno Hagspiel, April 12, 1934; Joseph Grendel to Bruno Hagspiel, April 20, 1934 (ABSL)

⁵¹Archbishop Cicognani to Bruno Hagspiel, May 16, 1934; Bruno Hagspiel to Archbishop Cicognani, May 22, 1934 (ABSL)

⁵²Bishop Desmond to Archbishop Cicognani, June 21, 1934; Bishop Desmond to Cardinal Mundelin, June 23, 1934; Bishop Desmond to Bruno Hagspiel, June 28, 1934 (ABSL)

⁵³Herman Patzelt to Bruno Hagspiel, June 25, 1934 (ABSL)

⁵⁴MPI, Father Anthony Bourges

⁵⁵Ibid, Father Maurice Rousseve; Father Anthony Bourges